1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

INTRODUCTION

Selection of the Araucanians as subjects for research in the field was by no means a matter of chance. On the contrary, they were chosen because they represent a large and important tribe of South American Indians about whom there is a surprising lack of up-to-date information. In the course of the last four centuries a great deal of valuable material on numerous phases of their culture has been written by soldiers, travelers, scholars, and missionaries, but this monograph provides the first ethnographic report ever compiled from data gathered in the field by a professional anthropologist.[1] It would be presumptuous to claim, on the basis of a single field trip, that one had made adequate coverage of the total range of Araucanian culture; hence a word of explanation is necessary to indicate the area covered, the native groupings, the limitations of time, and the problems and objectives presented in this study. [2]

First, the area will be considered. Approximately three hundred miles south of Santiago, from the Río Bío Bío, an eighty-mile wide stretch of territory extends about one hundred and fifty miles farther south. Most of this region is a valley contained between the Nahuelbuta coastal range on the west and the Andean mountains on the east. The area has long been known as the Frontera (Map 1) because it is beyond the system of forts erected by the Spaniards during the conquest of Chile. Commonly, this territory is called Araucanía, because it is the principal zone inhabited by the Araucanian Indians. At present native communities are scattered over much of the old Fron- [3]

[1] Compare the assessment of this situation in Bunzel (1930a, p. 156), whose work provides the most complete bibliography of Araucanian studies that is readily available. The late Father Cooper's excellent summary of the existing literature (Cooper, 1946) will be frequently cited to indicate earlier treatments of topics covered in this monograph. It should be noted that in 1941 Sister M. Inez Hilger made a field study, principally centered on childrearing practices, among several Araucanian groups. For a preliminary description of her findings, see Hilger, 1946. A full report is now in press.

For bibliographic references to works mentioned see Literature Cited.

I: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

tera. Not all of them have identical customs, and it is well known that important cultural differences exist between the indigenes residing north of the Cautín River and those living to the south of it.[1] This monograph deals only with the Araucanians north of the Cautín River, in the area bounded by Carrarrihe, Cautinche, Renaco, and Cholchol (Map 2).

There is no way of knowing at present when the aboriginal settlement of Araucanía took place, nor is there any precise way of determining the exact number of Araucanians extant. Statistics vary from official government figures of approximately one hundred thousand to unofficial estimates of three hundred thousand.[2] Part of the discrepancy may arise from the fact that there is no longer any clear indication of race by means of which one can distinguish a full-blooded Araucanian from a mestizo or a rural Chilean. Nor is it always easy to define an Araucanian in terms of culture. The best single test seems to be that of language. In fact, it has become customary to class as an Araucanian any person who habitually speaks the native tongue. Thus, Araucanian has come to refer not only to the language itself but also to one who speaks it. In their own speech, the Indians call themselves Mapuche ("people of the land"), and throughout this monograph the words Araucanian and Mapuche will be used interchangeably to signify either the aboriginal language or the natives who speak it.

There is a strong likelihood that a number of non-Araucanian peoples once lived in the territory under discussion. Various efforts have been made, notably by Guevara and Latcham, to identify these groups and to indicate their locations. The late Father Cooper reviewed and summarized all the available data, and recognized a number of distinctive regional or tribal subdivisions, such as the Picunche of northern middle Chile, the Moluche and Huilliche of southern middle Chile, and the Pehuenche on the higher slopes of the Andes. Since most of these have been absorbed or exterminated, Cooper put the greatest emphasis on what is clearly the main surviving body

[1] Latcham, 1910, pp. 183 ff.
[2] Brand, 1940a, p. 111 and Cooper, 1946, p. 695.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

131

MAP 1. The Frontera in Chile. The stippled area gives the approximate location of the region called the Frontera or Araucanía. (After Jefferson, 1921, Figs. 6 and 13.)

121 Father Cooper was led to write: "Our sources are so vague and often so conflicting . . . that it is impossible to reconstruct therefrom a full, rounded, and consistent picture."[9]

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 714.

Map 2. Cholchol and vicinity. Redrawn from an original sketch by Raúl González.

Mapuche-Huilliche
1: Tuhay E-S (1940) 1951 SO4 Araucanía SO4

I: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SC4 Araucanians SC4
Mapuche-Huilliche

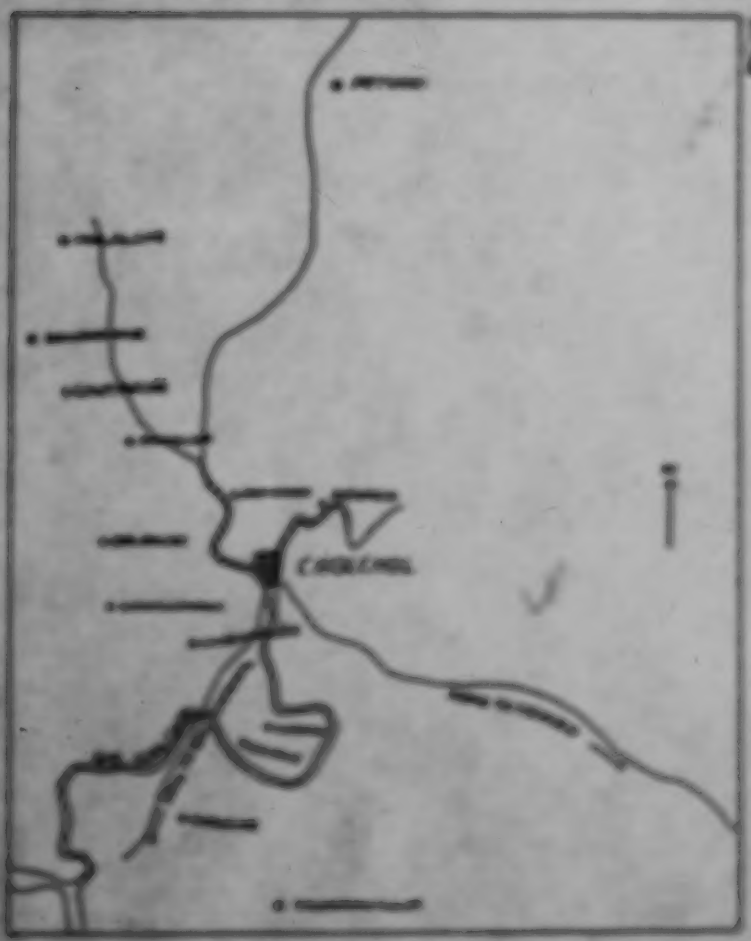

FIG. 1. Reservations near Quidico. Redrawn from an original sketch loaned by the Reverend Harry Donaldson, of the Methodist Araucanian Only reductions considered to be true are noted. They indicate the density of reserves around Quidico. Locations are approximate.

dians who sought refuge in the unpolluted waters of the Pomaire. Here all of these invaders were killed, and, in the course of time, many of them married Araucanian women and gradually disap-

I: Titiev E-5 (1968) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

RESERVATION SOCIAL STRUCTURE

62/ 121 In no province of Araucanian culture is there such a dearth of information as there is with regard to the social composition of a typical reduction. The Mapuche term for a reservation, *reducción*, does not throw much light on the problem, as it has no deeper meaning than "an assemblage of people." It was for the purpose of supplying some of the missing information that the first few weeks of intensive field work were devoted primarily to a study of Cautinchoe's social structure. This reservation was selected as the first base of operations because a preliminary visit had indicated that it was well suited to such a purpose. It is moderately small and lies far enough away from Chilehid to preserve much of its aboriginal quality. Moreover, we were made welcome by the Reverend Juan Ainiao and his family, and were permitted to place our caravan in the center of a group of huts (Fig. 4). Juan Antimo, the present holder of Cautinchoe's *título de merced*, is the son of the former *cabita* of the community. He has lived at Cautinchoe all his life, and he was able to supply many essential data about every one of the reservation's inhabitants.

As the study progressed, we discovered that Cautinchoe had been founded by a pioneer from Carrarrilla. It developed that the two reservations had other ties in common, which led us to move to Carrarrilla as soon as the detailed analysis of Cautinchoe had been completed. In due course we learned that Carrarrilla had important links with Ranco. For that reason we decided to investigate Ranco at the completion of the study of Carrarrilla.

This chapter, then, consists of detailed analyses of the social structures of Cautinchoe, Carrarrilla, and Ranco, with a number of general ideas that arose in the course of the work. Cautinchoe was the most thoroughly investigated as circumstances did not permit equal attention to all three reservations.

GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING

The district which contains the three reservations lies between the Valdivian coastal mountains on the west and the Llanos del Rio Bueno on the east.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

One other case that is somewhat irregular because it involves an instance of matrilocal residence deserves mention. Santiago Huircan, owner of House No. 6, is only distantly related to Cautinche's founder. He was born in Catrimalal and lived there until about 1938. At that time his wife, who is the daughter of Juan Antinao's brother, inherited some eighteen hectares at Cautinche. Thereupon, the couple moved to Cautinche and Santiago began to farm on his wife's land. There is no feeling of strangeness towards this family, and they have been completely accepted by the Cautinche community.

HISTORY AND DESCRIPTION OF CARRARRIPE

Like Cautinche, Carrarripe lies between Chile's coastal ranges and the Andes, and its topography also is featured by gently sloping hills. Here the major drainage is provided by the Chokchol River, which runs close by the eastern boundary of the reservation. Several streamlets flow across the area, and in the rainy season the low-lying lands are often flooded. There are many indications of aboriginally dense forest cover, but the region is currently bare of trees except where groves of eucalyptus or apple orchards have recently been planted (Frontispiece). Unimproved dirt roads connect Carrarripe with Nueva Imperial and Chokchol.

Carrarripe is a much larger reduction than is Cautinche. It contains 1,438 hectares, officially known as parcel or *lejanía* 54 (see Fig. 7). Title to this land is in the name of Antonio Painemal, who is accordingly the nominal chief. Two adjacent reservations, Piconn and Trotrenquelo (Figs. 7, 8), are so closely linked with Carrarripe that all three may be regarded as comprising a kind of "Greater Carrarripe."[9] It was not possible to ascertain the true nature of the relationships that exist among the three districts, but it appears likely that division occurred at one time or another when reservation boundaries and land titles were being regularized. A former Carrarripe man, Mateo Chihuailaun, is said to have set himself up as an independent

[9] That part of Coipue which is shown on Figure 7 is also said by some informants to be part of "Greater Carrarripe."

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucaniana SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

BACKGROUND AND DESCRIPTION OF RENACO

Renaco, a small reduction of 175 hectares, lies about four kilometers northeast of Chol-chol. Title is held by the *lonko*, Fermín Nahuelhual. The terrain falls into two divisions, a hilly section that is part of the eastern foothills of the Nahuelbuta coastal range, and a flat meadow-like area which is drained by the Renaco stream that enters the Chol-chol River at Chol-chol. Since there are only nine houses, with a populace of fifty-six, it might seem that there is enough land for all, but much of the hilly ground is unsuited for growing wheat, and the lowland receives too much moisture to yield good crops.

Renaco was settled, probably in 1815, by Araucanians who had crossed the Andes from Argentina. The first family to arrive was that of Collio Huenchual, from whom the present chief is descended. All the householders now living on the reservation are members of a single large family. Three men have built houses in the hilly section (Fig. 9, Nos. 2, 4, 5), and the others are spread over the meadow, with the leader's house (Fig. 9, No. 1) more or less centrally located. As long ago as 1885 a traveler described Renaco as having six to eight houses, "forming the only approach to anything like a village that we met in the whole country."[1]

In 1948 the Misión Araucana established a school that is taught by a young man, Antonio, eldest son of Segundo Huenchual (Fig. 9, No. 2). The teacher claims to have a gross enrollment of fifty pupils, with an average attendance of thirty-nine.[2] One room of a utility building next to Segundo Huenchual's dwelling serves as the sole classroom.

At Renaco the hockey field and the ritual ground are distinct (see Fig. 9). There is no resident *machi* at present, although it was claimed that a male *machi* named José Tocque once lived on the reservation. Despite the presence of a ceremonial area, no *nguillatun* has been held at Renaco for more than ten years.

[1] Smith, 1887, p. 185.
[2] This figure may well be too high. See footnote 3 of this chapter.

3: Brand E-4 (no date) 1941 SC4 Araucanians SC4

previous census figures; and the writer is inclined to accept the number of around 500,000 claimed in March of 1941 by an Araucanian leader (Martin Collil Huaiquilaf) who helped with the census of 1940. The acceptance of such a large number rests upon (1) the wild and broken nature of much of the country in which the Araucanians reside; (2) the unwillingness of most Chileans to recognize the existence of a large Indian block of population; (3) numbers mentioned by Collil as present at markets in certain Chilean towns; and (4) the method of defining an "Araucanian Indian." It is impossible to determine a full-blooded Indian, since a mixed-blood may physically resemble a pure white, a pure Indian, or a definite mixture of the two. Possibly blood-typing might segregate the pure Indians, but only a few hundred Chileans have ever been typed. Due to illiteracy, paucity of legal recorded marriages, and lack of written records, few of the Indians and mestizos of Chile know their ancestry back three generations. It is an historic fact that Spanish renegades, and Chilean outlaws, squatters, and mestizos sought refuge with and settled down and intermarried with the Araucanians south of the Bio-Bio as early as the 16th century, and the process continued well through the 19th century. Further, the Araucanians carried back white and mestizo women from their raids into the Valley of Chile and elsewhere. All this has placed white blood in the veins of thousands of so-called pure Indians. However, most of this dilution seemingly has resulted in a people among whom the majority of individuals have less than one-quarter white blood, judging from the shaky evidence of physical characteristics. If we count as "Indians" anyone who physically seems to be Indian, and all who linguistically or socially are considered Indians, then the estimate of 500,000 Araucanians probably is not too high.

These Araucanians are mainly in Chile between the Bio-Bio and the Gulf of Ancud. As a result of Spanish and Chilean pressure, some Araucanian groups, probably Pehuenche and Huilliche, and locals scattered whose descendants, chiefly mixed with Patagonian and Fuegan Indians, still live in the Argentinian provinces and territories of Neuquen, Rio Negro, Chubut. Their numbers have been estimated between a few hundred and three or four thousand. Whatever groups of Araucanian tongue, Picunche and the like, once existed north of the Maule no longer exist excepting as Spanish-speaking mestizos within the great lower class of rotos (laborers, etc.) and inquilinos (poor tenants). These Indians north of the Maule had lost much of their identity as Araucanians even before the Spanish conquest, due to conquest by the Incas about the middle of the 15th century,[1] and mixture with yanaconas and mitimaes brought to Chile from the north by both Incas and Spaniards. Upon the Spanish conquest, the Indians of the Valley of Chile were given no encomiendas to the more influential of the conquerors. Work, mistreatment, and disease killed off great num-

1. Illapel, in the latter part of the 15th century, reported Quechua still spoken as far south as Quelemo.

When a wife was unfaithful to her husband, he was at liberty to inflict what punishment he thought fit, and could recover from the adulterer whatever value he determined upon, the woman in that case becoming the property of the payer. He could also sell her, or return her to her father as damaged goods, insisting on the price paid for her being given back.

Chastity is not prized among unmarried girls, and few of them are virgins at the time of their marriage. Once married, however, they are generally modest, chaste and faithful.

Violation is not considered a crime, but the violator renders himself liable to pay an indemnity to the father and to take the girl as his wife. Prostitution is common, many women exercising it as a profession, and going from village to village in pursuit of new lovers.

Infanticide is common. Children born with any deformity, or under unlucky circumstances, are frequently slain by their parents.

Petilfer incest, attempted suicide, nor libel are considered as crimes, while robbery is part of the daily life of the Indian. No stealing is permitted, however, to the clan itself, although as a general rule everything is considered in common.

Armed raids (malones) were constantly made on the neighbouring villages, and thus a continual state of warfare was kept up.

Drunkenness is carried to its utmost excess among the Araucanos, and during their feasts the most unbridled license prevails. They then give themselves up to a sexual promiscuity that respects no condition or relationship, each one taking forcible possession of any woman that strikes his fancy or happens to be nearest at hand.

On this fact may possibly be due the custom of reckoning parentage and descent from the mother's side, it being frequently impossible to determine with any certainty who is the father of a given child. Among some tribes the eldest brother of the deceased inherits at his death, as being more certainly of his blood. This peculiarity attracted the attention of the chroniclers at the time of the Spanish Conquest, throughout America.

A redeeming trait of these Indians is their hospitality. An intoxicated person is generally condemned by public opinion, as sordid and mean. The guest is considered sacred to those under the same roof, and of the same kin or clan; and it is the duty of all to protect him and his belongings while he is within their jurisdiction. Any infraction of this rule is severely punished.

The chief virtue among them is that of physical bravery; then come personal endurance, both of pain and hardship, constancy in vengeance, and individual strength.

Lands.—When the Spaniards arrived in Northern Chile, they found the country divided into four natural divisions. The word *mapu*, land, was applied to all of them, being qualified by a distinctive name. *Lamgum-mapu* was the sea-land or coast region, *Inlmen-mapu* or level land was the central valley, *Anu-pire-mapu*

4 Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

ante the snow land, was the region of the lower Andes, and *Pire-mapu*, snow land, the upper ranges.

The error was fallen into of considering these as political divisions, instead of geographical; a mistake in which many later writers have continued. As a matter of fact there was no political organization, as we understand the term, and the *Araucanos* recognized no supreme chief, save only in times of great national peril, and then only in a military sense, and by public election. The danger over, they returned to their former customs, the functions of the chief ceasing from the moment the army was disbanded.

The basis of their social and political life is the family, which develops into a clan, and afterwards a tribe, absolutely independent one from the other. The clan itself was called *lov*, the village occupied by it *rukas*, the group of villages inhabited by the tribe *ailla-rukas*, literally nine villages.

The clan or *lov* was governed by the head of the family or *ulmen*, the tribe by the hereditary descendant of the founder or *apo-ulmen*, a contraction of *mapu-ulmen*, chief of the land.

Their villages were small, the third generation generally leaving them to form another, at a short distance away.

The authority of these chiefs descended from father to eldest son, save in the case of physical or mental incapability, when a new chief is chosen, generally another son, brother, or near relative of the deceased.

The authority of these *ulmenes* is, however, little more than nominal, and is confined almost exclusively to the direction of their feasts and ceremonies, and in a lesser degree to the political economy of the group.

All important matters are treated in common council by the adult males, the chief presiding at the meeting. No tribute is paid him, neither is he exempt from sharing the daily tasks of the clan, although in a general way he assumes the management.

Both the *ulmenes* and *apo-ulmenes* are known under the common title of *toqui*, from the staff or wand which they carry, which is a symbol of their authority and which bears that name. The Spaniards following the custom prevalent through the whole of America gave them the generic name of *caciques*.

In time of national warfare, the tribes of the different areas or *mapus*, also called *aillarehues*, united under a general or war chief called *toqui*. This post was usually hereditary during the time of the Spanish wars, although in the beginning the conquest was elected from among the most famous warriors by popular vote.

When the Araucanos began to adopt a more sedentary life, it became necessary to establish more firmly their *adcuapo* (customs of the land), or code of laws. Their quarrels were formerly settled by an appeal to arms; now however the *ulmen* called together the elders of the clan and they deliberated on the evidence given, and imposed punishment for the crime committed. It was not considered necessary to hear the offender.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

THE ARAUCANIANS

By JOHN M. COOPER

NATURAL ENVIRONMENT[1]

131 Middle Chile, the earlier habitat of the *Araucanians*, extends from lat. 30° to 43° S. and falls into two divisions, northern Middle Chile, 30° to 37°, and southern Middle Chile, 37° to 43°, which correspond fairly closely to the accepted tribal division of the Chilean *Araucanians* into the *Picunche*, and the *Mapuche-Huilliche* (map 1, *No. 17*; map 5). To the east runs the Andean Cordillera, reaching an average altitude of about 15,000 to 20,000 feet (5,000 to 6,000 m.) through much of its length, and toward the ocean the coastal range, averaging about 1,000 feet (300 m.) in altitude with a maximum of around 7,000 feet (2,300 m.). Between the two ranges lies the great Central Valley, extending with few breaks the whole length of Middle Chile. There are many passes through the Andes. Those most used in Colonial days were the high-altitude Uspallata pass to Mendoza and the low-altitude one east of Villarica. Snowfall is unusual in the Central Valley, but is abundant in the Cordillera.

In northern Middle Chile, the *Picunche* country, north of the Bío-Bío River, precipitation is light, with a Mediterranean climate, of rains in the winter and drought in the summer. From the southern limits of the desert proper at Coquimbo to the Bío-Bío River, precipitation gradually increases. Vegetation is dry forest, of the chaparral type, with acacias and laurels typical.

In southern Middle Chile, the *Mapuche* and *Huilliche* country, precipitation is heavy, and occurs throughout the year. The dense temperate rain forest begins rather abruptly at the Bío-Bío and extends with only local breaks throughout the area, with a markedly humid climate. Typical trees are deciduous and evergreen beeches (*Nothofagus obliqua* and *N. dombeyi*, respectively), and cypress (*Libo-*

[1] Since certain *Araucanian* tribal names, such as *Huilliche*, *Pehuenche*, etc., are so well established in anthropological usage that change of customary spelling would look strange, and since most of our sources give only imperfect information on the exact pronunciation of native *Araucanian* words, especially of the vowels, it has not proved feasible or advisable to adopt a uniform system of transcription throughout the present paper. The chief phonetic equivalents used herein are: *ch*, as Spanish *ch*; *e*, before *a*, *o*, and *i*, as English *a*; *ge* before *e* and *i*, as *h*; *c*, as *k*; *ll* and *ñ*, the *lly* and *ny* sounds respectively, as in Spanish; *u*, as *oo* in English *ring*; *ü*, close to Istalized French *u*.

In scientific identifications of native plants and animals, the writer has in most cases followed Lenz (1905-10), Félix José da Augusta (1916), Gusinde (1936), and Montandon (1934).

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

cedrus chilensis). Of particular cultural importance are the alerce (*Fitzroya patagonica*) and canelo (*Drimys winteri*).

The "*Peluenche*" country comprises the higher slopes and intercordilleran valleys of the Andes, poorly adapted, on account of the low temperatures, to horticulture. Its most characteristic feature bearing upon culture is the Chilean pine (*Araucaria imbricata*), which covers great areas in the high intercordilleran valleys and on the upper western and eastern slopes of the Andes from about lat. 37°20′ to 40°20′ S.

The open country of the Argentine *Araucanians* is described more in detail in the paper on "The Southern Hunters" (q.v., Handbook, vol. 1, p. 127).

ARAUCANIAN TERRITORY

At the first coming of the Whites to Chile, *Araucanian*-speaking peoples occupied all the area west of the Andean uplands from the southern tip of the Island of Chiloé to, at least, the Río Choapa. The southern limit was Corcovado Gulf, immediately south whereof, in the Guaianecas Islands and the archipelago beyond, were the non-*Araucanian Chono* (Cooper, 1917, pp. 30–34). The northern limit is less sharply definable from our sources. To judge from Luis de Valdivia's explicit statement (1887, p. 6) and from local place names, the zone between the Choapa and Coquimbo was also at least partly *Araucanian*.

Whether the Indians who in the 16th and 17th centuries dwelt in or adjacent to the *Araucaria imbricata* forests of the higher intercordilleran valleys of the Andes between about lat. 37° and 40° S., whose staple plant food was *Araucaria* piñons, and who were called "*Puelche*" (Oliverria,[9] 1852, p. 15) and later "*Peluenche*" by contemporary Spanish writers, were then *Araucanian*-speaking, is not clear. Latcham assembled a certain amount of evidence, mostly non-linguistic, in support of his view that they were not then *Araucanian*-speaking, but that they became *Araucanized* in language in the 18th century (Latcham, 1929–30, 63: 150–72). They were first explicitly recorded as *Araucanian*-speaking by Pietas in 1729 (1846, p. 499; cf. Molina, 1901, p. 263; 1878 b, pp. 492–93). The evidence from the earlier sources is more puzzling. Only two of the sources, the "Proceso criminal de 1658" and Rosales, give clues to the language spoken by the piñon-eating peoples called therein "*Peluenche*" ("*Pegüenche*"). The piñon-eating "*Peluenche*" described in the "Proceso criminal de 1658" were probably non-*Araucanian* speaking (1929, pp. 47, 136, 143–44, 152, 196; P. Cabrera, 1929, pp. 46–47). But Rosales, in his account of his peace mission in 1650 or 1653 through the upper cordilleran "*Pegüenche*" country south of lat. 38° S. to the "*Puelche*" country east of the "*Pegüenche*" country, is careful to state that the "*Puelche*" spoke a non-*Araucanian* tongue, whereas he makes no

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

131 At the present time, west of the Andes, the *Araucanian*-speaking Indians are massed mainly in southern Middle Chile, from about lat. 37° to 42° S., in the Provinces of Arauco, Bio-Bio, Malleco, Cautín, Valdivia, and Llanquihue, between the Bio-Bio River and the Canal of Chacao. There are a few scattered *Araucanian*-speaking Indians between the Bio-Bio and the Maule Rivers, but apparently none north of the Maule, and few or none, so far as the present writer can discover, on Chiloé, although north of the Bio-Bio River and on Chiloé somatological and cultural (Cavada, 1914) influences still survive in greater or lesser degree. East of the Andes, the surviving pure blood and Mestizo remnants of the earlier transcordilleran *Araucanian* migrants are found scattered in various sections of the Pampa, chiefly in the Territory of Neuquén, with other groups in the Province of Mendoza and the Territories of La Pampa, Río Negro, and Chubut.

TRIBAL NAMES AND DIVISIONS

101 The tribal appellative "*Araucano*" was first used by Ercilla in his "La Araucana" of 1569–89 (1910, p. xix), to denote the Indians of the locality of Arauco ("muddy water," from *Araucanian* ragh, raq, rau, "clay," + ko, co, "water"). Modern anthropology uses the term for all Indians speaking the *Araucanian* or *Mapuche* language, and it is this usage which we are following in the present paper. The *Araucanians* themselves do not use the term. They call themselves simply che, "people," or re che, "unmixed, pure, real" + "people." Modern Chilean *Araucanians* commonly use and prefer *Mapuche*, "People of the Land" (mapu, "land," + che).

The terms *Auca* (syn.: *Auka*, *Ouca*, *Aucano*, *Araucian*), "rebel," from Quechua auka, "enemy, rebel," and *Promaucaes* (syn.: *Promaucos*, *Promaucas*, *Promocos*, *Promocas*, *Peromocos*, *Peromocas*, *Puromocos*, *Pomocones*), "wild enemy," from Quechua purum, purum, "uncultivated field, wild," + auka, were names given by the *Incas* to the rebel or unconquered Indians south of the Maipó River to the Bio-Bio River, and were adopted and used in a similar limited sense by the Spanish in the 16th and 17th centuries. The anthropological use—as, e.g., by Brinton—of *Auca* as a generic name for "*Araucanians*" has not been a happy one.

101 Present-day anthropological usage, well justified by our historical,
131 linguistic, and cultural evidence, divides the *Araucanians* into the following main groups:

West of Andes:
- *Picunche.*
- *Mapuche.*
- *Huilliche* (and *Cuncu*).

Andean Highlands:
- *Pehuenche.*

East of the Andes:
- Argentine *Araucanians.*

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

In the present paper "*Araucanian*" is used to include all these divisions, and these subdivisional names are used in their currently accepted anthropological connotations to be defined in the following paragraphs. The more important variant uses of the subdivisional names by the *Araucanians* themselves, by non-*Araucanian* Indians, and by earlier writers, will be noted in passing.

The *Pirenche* (syn.: *Picunche*), "North People," from *Araucanian* pire, pikun, pikum, "north," + che, "people," occupied the area from the Andes to the Pacific Coast and from Coquimbo or the Choapa to the Itata River or the Bio-Bio River. At different times in the past, the southern boundary of the Pikun maps, "north country," the territory of the *Pirenche*, has been variously located from as far north as the Itata or the Bio-Bio to as far south as the Tolten (Havestadt, 1883, 2:660–61), depending largely on the relative geographical location of the users of the name and on the relative southern extension, at the time of use, of White conquest and rule. Some, too, of the *Araucanian*-speaking, and perhaps even some non-*Araucanian*, groups to the east of the Andes in the Tucuman and Mendoza regions of the western Pampa and eastern foothills were denominated *Pirenche* in the middle and late 18th century. In modern times, the name has also been used for the *Araucanians* of Colhipulli and the neighborhood in the Chilean Province of Malleco (Lenz, 1904–10, 2:883).

Latcham (1928 a, p. 128) subdivides the *Pirenche* into three groups: those from (a) the Choapa to the Maipó River, (b) the Maipó to the Maule River, the earlier "*Promaucaes*," and (c) the Maule River to the Itata River.

The *Mapuche* (*Mapuenche*: Felix Jose, 1910, p. 24; 1918, 1:131), "People of the Land," from *Araucanian* mapu, "land," + che, occupied and still largely occupy the area west of the Andes from the Itata or the Bio-Bio River to the Tolten River. The name is acceptable to present-day *Araucanians* themselves in this sense, although it can be and has been used with either a more inclusive meaning to signify all *Araucanians*, Chilean and Argentine, or with a less inclusive one to signify any local group, however small.

The *Huilliche* (*Huilli*, *Huiliche*, *Guiliche*, *Gúilliche*, *Ghuiliche*, *Veliche*, *Beliche*), "South People," from *Araucanian* willi, "south," + che, occupied, and still partially occupy, the territory south of the Tolten, the Quepe, or the Calle Calle Rivers, to Corcovado Gulf, including Chiloé. At different times in the past the northern boundary of the *Huilli* maps has been located at various points between the Itata and the Tolten River. (Cf. supra under "*Pirenche*.") Sometimes, too, the *Cuncu* and Chilotan *Araucanians* have been included in the *Huilliche*, sometimes differentiated therefrom. In one early account, Gelmette's of 1557–58, the cuncu-using Indians (Cuncu)

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

between Concepción Gulf and Cape Tres Montes are called "Huilliche," while Falkner used *Pichi* ("Small-bodied") *Huilliche* for the Araucanians from Valdivia to the Sea of Chiloé, and *Vuta* ("Large-bodied") *Huilliche* for the Indians on both sides of the Cordillera from Chiloé to the Strait of Magellan (Cooper, 1917, pp. 20–22). (On use of "Huilliche" for Argentine Araucanians, cf. infra.)

The Cuncu (syn.: *Juncu*; in forms such as *Guinchi*, *Cunchu*, and *Cunchi* (pl.) and *Kunchi*, as used by Molina, who followed Indian orthography, or as derived from him, *ch* = *k*; etymology uncertain) occupied the western third of half of the Chilean mainland from Valdivia or the Bueno to the Canal of Chacao, especially, according to Latcham (1928 a, p. 266), the Departments of Carelmapu and Cuncu.

The *Chonos*, *Poya*, and *Caucahues* of the older chroniclers and modern anthropologists were not *Araucanians*. Falkner's use of "Chono" as inclusive of the *Araucanian*-speaking Chilotan Indians was erroneous. The term *Huilliche Serrano* came in during the second third of the 18th century, according to Latcham (1929–30, 64:21 . . ., to denote groups, previously called *Pinches*, of the Cordillera. The term *Moluche* (syn.: *Mulueche*, *Nguluche*), probably "Western People," from *Araucanian* gull, gulliun, "west," + che (not "Warrior People," Lenz, 1906–10, 2:508) first appears in our literature in 1774 as used by Falkner for the *Araucanians* both east and west of the Andes from the "confines of Peru" (or Coquimbo) south and including the non-*Araucanian Chonos*, *Poya*, and *Caucahues* to the Strait of Magellan. *Moluche* was a name by which they were then known to the Argentine or "eastern" *Araucanians*. *Auca*, wherever used, refers to *Araucanians*.

The *Poluenche* (*Poyuenche*), "People of the Pines," from *Araucanian* poluin, poyuin, poven, "Chilean pine (*Araucaria imbricata*)," occupied the high slopes and valleys of the main Andean Cordillera where their chief staple food, the *Araucaria*, grew, that is, from about lat. 37° 30′ to 42° 30′ S., and seemingly, they at different times or in different seasons of the year occupied or roamed over some of the territory outside of but adjacent to the *Araucaria* range. It is by no means clear whether the 17th-century "*Poluenche*" of the Cordillera between lat. 37° and 40° S. were the ethnic forebears of the 18th- and 19th-century "*Poluenche*" of the Cordillera between 34° and 37° described by Molina (1901, pp. 262–65) and others. (Cf. infra under Culture of the *Poluenche*.) Some of the early Chilean writers, such as Ercilla (1910, p. xix) and Oliverrin (1862, p. 18) refer to these cordilleran people as "*Puelche*." From the middle 17th century on, the name *Poluenche* has been used for various bodies of Indians, in most cases, but not in all, identifiable as *Araucanian*-speaking, of the high Cordillera, of the eastern slopes thereof, or of the adjacent

9 Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Pampa, from about lat. 34° to 40° S.; in the second half of the 18th century, for the non-*Araucanian* "*Serrano*" Indians of the Sierra del Volcán and the Sierra de la Ventana regions, in the eastern Pampa south of Buenos Aires, and south of these ranges to or toward the Río Negro (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, pp. 29–30—possibly an author's or printer's error for "*Puelche*"). Since the middle of the 18th century, the name *Pehuenche* has also been used for a branch or branches of the Argentine *Araucanians* with their centers in or near the eastern slopes of the Andes. (Falkner, 1935, p. 97; Sánchez Labrador, 1936, pp. 30–31; De la Cruz, 1836, p. 36; Cox, 1863, pp. 156–158; Tromen, 1883, p. 2.)

Many of these *Araucanian*-speaking "*Pehuenche*" of the Argentine Pampa may well have been descendants, in part at least, of the earlier 16th- to 17th-century piñon-eating *Pehuenche* of the high Cordillera, but the relationship cannot be confidently established from our present evidence.

The Argentine *Araucanians* or subdivisions of them have been called by a great many names, of which the more important are: *Moluche* (Falkner, 1935, p. 96; Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 30); *Vilimoluche* (Sánchez Labrador, ibid.); *Picunche* (Falkner, ibid.; Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 31; Musters, 1871, pp. 231, 234); *Huilliche*, *Pichi Huilliche* (Falkner, 1935, p. 99: *Araucanian*, *pichi*="small"); *Pehuenche*, *Puelche* (Falkner, 1935, p. 96; Sánchez Labrador, 1936, pp. 30–31; De la Cruz, 1836; Cox, 1863, p. 164); *Picun-pehuenche* and *Huilli-pehuenche* (Cox, ibid.); *Manzaneros*, *Hombres del Manzanar* (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 31; Musters, 1871, p. 70; Milanesio, 1896, p. 38: Span., *manzano*="apple tree"); *Sanquelche* (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 30), *Ranquelche*, *Ranqueles* (Mansilla, 1877), *Ranquelinos* (D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2:227: "People of the Reeds," from *Araucanian*, *ranqil*, *rankil* (*r*∼*l*, dialectic shift)="reed" (*Chusquea* sp. and/or *Pangalanes* sp.)); *Puelche*, *Puelche* (*Araucanian*, *puel*, "east," + *che*) *millaruna* (Camaño, 1783, in Clark, 1937, pp. 114–115); *Mapuche* (Moesbach, 1879); *Pampa* (Barbará, 1930); *Patagon* (Molina, 1878 b, p. 422; 1901, p. 265); *Araucanos des Pampas* (D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2:226). Of the nine smaller groups listed as "*Puelche*" by Falkner, Lehmann-Nitsche (1922, p. 60) considered the following to have been *Araucanian*-speaking: *Taluhet*, *Leuvuche*; the following in part *Araucanian*-speaking: *Diuihet*, *Cuilliehet*, *Chuilleuhtuvu*.

Around the middle of the 18th century, when we get our first glimpse of the respective locations of these subdivisions, the main body of the Argentine *Araucanians* called *Moluche*, (*Picunche*, *Pehuenche*, and *Huilliche*) by Falkner (1935, pp. 96–98), and *Moluche*, *Picunche*, *Puelchenche*, *Vilimoluche* and *Sanquelche* by Sánchez Labrador (1936, pp. 30–31) appears to have been massed around the eastern slopes of the Andes and the adjacent Pampa from about lat. 30° S., somewhat

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

south of Mendoza City, to about lat. 42° S., a little south of Lake Nahuelhuapi. In 1806, De la Cruz (1836, p. 36) located the *Poyenche* in the Andean upland and eastern slopes and adjacent Pampa between lat. 34° and 37° S., as Molina (1901, p. 262) had done earlier, and the *Gualiche* south of them. Poeppig's *Pehuenche* were around Antuco (1835–36, 1:381). Manzilla in 1870 (1877, 1:3,6; 2:275) more precisely ascribes the territory between lat. 35° and 37° S., and long. 63° and 66° E. to the *Ranquel*, between the Rio Quinto and the Rio Colorado, with their center at Leubucó.

Some of these locations are rather vaguely defined. Furthermore, it is by no means clear that the same subdivisional names as used for Chilean and Argentine subdivisions, or at different periods by different sources for the Argentine subdivisions themselves, refer to identical groups and historical descendants therefrom. For instance, we have no means of knowing for certain whether the groups called *Poyenche* in the middle 18th century are descendants of the early 18th-century *Pehuenche* of Pietas, or of the middle 17th-century *Pehuenche* of Rosales and of the "Proceso criminal de 1658"; or whether the *Ranquel* of Manzilla are descendants of Sánchez Labrador's *Rangueleo*. Such subdivisional names, derived from cardinal directions or ecological phenomena, were very loosely and variably used by Indians and Whites, depending on the location or option of the users.

It seems more probable that the Argentine *Picunche* located by Falkner from about lat. 30° to 35° S. are not, in the main at least, descendants of the Chilean *Picunche*, as these latter appear to have been well absorbed and Hispanicized before the start of the major *Araucanian* invasion of the Argentine Pampa in the early 18th century. The survival beyond the 17th century in great numbers of the Chilean *Mapuche* and *Huilliche*, the severe pressure exerted by the Whites on the *Mapuche* and especially on the *Huilliche* in earlier Colonial days, and scattered historical clues on 17th-century Chilean *Huilliche* and *Pehuenche* raids or intrusions into the Argentine Pampa, all suggest, without however proving, that the bulk of the Argentine *Araucanians* stem from the Chilean *Mapuche* and *Huilliche*, especially the latter.

POPULATION

Estimates of *Araucanian* population at the time of first White contact vary from a half million to one and a half million. These estimates rest on very weak evidence, and it is impossible to say which of them is nearest to the truth. Everything points, however, to the conclusion that at that time the area between the Canal of Chacao and the Bio-Bio and Itata Rivers was very densely populated; the area north of the Itata, much less so. There are many indications that this dense population south of the Itata and Bio-Bio Rivers was at a very

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Picunche

[824] 757 facients, aphrodisiacs, and for a great many other purposes, in infusions, for massages, and in other ways, depending on the malady or on the objective desired. Bloodletting with a small pointed flint, hafted, was common within as well as outside of shamanistic practice (Oyarzún, 1916–17, pp. 61–62). An enema syringe was made of the bladder of an animal with a small cane tube attached thereto. Rosales (1877–78, 1:224) saw an Indian give water boiled with bezoar in it to a person ill of heart disease. Sweat baths were taken as follows, according to Félix José (1916, 1:226): Wild sage or other plants were put in water in a trough, and four white-hot stones thrown successively into the trough over which the patient placed himself, covered with blankets or clothing in order to sweat. There was also considerable skill in handling of dislocations, fractures, and wounds. (For details on medical and hygienic practices, cf. Gusinde, 1916–17.)

211 [212] **Communication.**—To judge from the mention of them in the very early literature, smoke signaling (Mariño de Lovera, 1865, p. 116) and the quipu (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 101; Ovalle, 1888, 12:162) were pre-Hispanic. The quipu (*pron*) or knotted cord was used for a number of purposes: To keep accounts of livestock and records of events (Ovalle, *loc.cit.*; Bullock, 1911, p. 18); to indicate the number of days at the end of which the summoned representatives or warriors would assemble for war, festival, sport, or other business; to keep tab of the number of days' work done, or of the number of payments to be made in case of composition for murder (Febrés, 1882, s.v. *pron*; Havestadt, 1883, 1:321, 2:755); and for other purposes.

802 **Enumeration, time-reckoning, and measures.**—Counting was by the decimal system. The numbers for 100 and 1,000 were from Quechua.

805 The year was divided into two parts by the December and June solstices, into 4 seasons, and into 12 lunar months; the 24-hour day into 10 or 12 parts. Moesbach (1936, pp. 82–84) lists 6 seasons and about 15 divisions of the day. The time of day was calculated by the position of the sun; of night, by the stars.

804 Various lineal measures were recognized corresponding more or less to our span, foot, pace, arm-length, etc. (Molina, 1901, p. 177; Guevara Silva, 1898, 1:283); and liquid and dry measures corresponding roughly to our pint, quart, six-quarts, etc. (Molina, ibid.).

158 Mental derangement, it may be added, in the form of milder paratæ or graver psychoses appears to have been uncommon, at least in recent times (Guevara Silva, 1913, pp. 306–07).

CULTURE OF THE PICUNCHE

● 131 Of the culture of the *Picunche*, the *Araucanian*-speaking natives who formerly occupied the region from the foot of the Andes to the Coast and from Coquimbo or the Choapa to the Itata River or the Bio-Bio River, very little is known.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Picunche
Argentinian Araucanians

Bío-Bío River, very little is known. Cultural modifications had already come about in pre-Hispanic times as a result both of *Inca* occupation of the northern section of the region and of other, non-*Inca* influences. Soon after the Spanish Conquest, from 1536 and 1540 on, the whole region suffered radical cultural transformation. The early chroniclers have left us only the most fragmentary data on pre-Hispanic aboriginal *Picunche* culture. Presumably, it was of the same general pattern as the *Mapuche-Huilliche* culture, but in the absence of specific records we cannot be certain. The meager information at our command gives evidence of considerable identity, but also of some divergence.

Irrigation was practiced as far south as the Rapel, but there were no terraces south of the Cheapa (Latcham, 1928 a, pp. 135, 139). Huts were commonly of wattle-and-daub construction, rectangular, with thatched roofs (Molina, 1901, p. 122; Latcham, 1928 a, p. 136).

The weapons reported as having been used in the "valley of Mapoche" (Mapocho, near modern Santiago) in 1541 by the natives under Michimalongo were: Atlatls, bludgeons with metal points, short-lances, pikes, heavy macanas, very big bows with long thin arrows (Mariño de Lovera, 1865, pp. 46–47); in some of these weapons *Inca* influence may be suspected, as the *Inca* domination extended at the time well beyond the Mapocho.

Clothing was very much like that of the *Mapuche-Huilliche*.

Mound burials are found archeologically in the region, with the body resting supine or on the side, sometimes face downward; some of the burials contain undecorated pottery; others, a black or dark pottery, sometimes polished and often adorned with figures of men and animals modeled in relief (Latcham, 1928 a, pp. 133, 135, 139).

On *Picunche* social and religious culture, we have no definite detailed information. (For fuller data on *Picunche* culture, cf. Latcham, 1928 a, ch. 7.)

CULTURE OF THE ARGENTINE ARAUCANIANS

In view of their geographical location and of certain cultural affinities, the 16th-, 17th-, and early 18th-century "*Pehuenche*" of Mariño de Lovera, Rosales, and Pietas, living south of about lat. 37° or 38° S., are dealt with in the following section on the "*Pehuenche*"; the later 18th- and early 19th-century "*Pehuenche*" of Molina, Amat y Junient, Carvallo i Goyeneche, De la Cruz, and Poeppig, living in the Andean uplands and eastern slopes between about lat. 34° or 34° 30′ and 37° or 38° S., in the present section, although some of these latter "*Pehuenche*" were located at the time in Chilean territory.

Our most important sources on the culture of the Argentine *Araucanians*, including these latter "*Pehuenche*," with dates of observation where such are determinable, are: Molina (1878 a, 1878 b, 1901)

S:Cooper E:4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

the Supreme Being (Barbará, 1880, p. 49) and of "Gualichu" for witchcraft. Gualichu was used, according to Lehmann-Nitsche's field studies (1922, p. 30), not among themselves, but only when talking with Spanish-speaking people. The Supreme Being of the Argentine *Araucanians* appears to be more closely associated with the sun than among the *Mapuche-Huilliche*. Oaths to fulfill agreements were made to the sun (Coe, 1865, p. 88; Milanesio, 1883, p. 41).

Balls of hair-mixed hair found in the bodies of cattle, and gravelly formations from horse kidneys, were preserved as charms (Guinnard, 1864, pp. 260-64).

CULTURE OF THE PEHUENCHES

Our chief original sources, with dates of observation, on the culture of the "*Pehuenche*" are the following: Marino de Lovera (1665), 1662-63; Rosales (1877-78), 1650-62; Pietas (1646), 1720; Amat y Junient (1807), ca. 1790; Molina (1901), before 1787-88; Carvallo i Goyeneche (1875), last third of 18th century; Sors (1911), ca. 1780-90; De la Cruz (1836), 1806; Poeppig (1835-36), 1828. (Cf. most of data assembled by Latcham, 1909-10, 40:150-72.) It is far from clear, however, whether all these writers were referring to the same ethnic entity, for "*Pehuenche*," as previously noted, was used in a very loose sense, ordinarily to denote peoples living near or in the Andes who drew largely on the *Araucaria imbricata* for their sustenance.

From their location, between about lat. 34° and 37° S., as well as from the linguistic and cultural evidence, it appears probable that the "*Pehuenche*" described by Amat y Junient, Molina, Carvallo i Goyeneche, De la Cruz, and Poeppig were all one and the same people. Their culture was dealt with in the preceding section on Argentine *Araucanians*. We shall confine treatment in this section to the culture of the *Pehuenche* described by the three earlier of the above-listed sources.

These latter "*Pehuenche*" lived somewhat farther south, from about lat. 37° to 40° or 41° S., within the general range of the *Araucaria imbricata*, kept well up in the Cordillera or in the intercordilleran valleys, and differed in some specific cultural respects from the *Mapuche-Huilliche*. To judge from the location of these "*Pehuenche*" as well as from the cultural data, as recorded by our three sources, there is at least an even chance that they all represent the same ethnic entity, but this is by no means certain, in view of the known mobility of population in the area in question, especially around and after the beginning of the 19th century.

The chief food staple, until at least the time of Pietas, was *Araucaria imbricata*, piñons, from which, according to Marino de Lovera (1865, p. 266) the natives made "bread, wine, and dishes"—a statement

6 Canals Fran E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentinian Araucanians

167 ed home and gradually locate an extensive plain, which they settle without violent struggle or population displacement. This ethnic replacement was accompanied by a process of adaptation and fusion, through which a population that originally possessed an Andean culture was transformed, doubtless by the impact of a new environment, into a people who lived on cattle raising, collecting wild foods, and pillage.

131 The *Araucanians* were the native peoples of Chile, dwelling originally in the plains between the Andes and the sea, south of the Atacama.
197 Father Luis de Valdivia, the first to write a grammar and lexicon of their language, gives in his book published in 1606 a good delineation of the area which *Araucanian*-speaking Indians then inhabited. In addition to stating that "in the entire realm of Chile there was no other language," he added that the *Araucanians* extended from Coquimbo, in the north, to Chiloé in the south, and "from the foot of the great snowy Cordillera to the sea." According to this and other early records, the habitat of the native *Araucanians* did not include the Cordillera but was within the limits indicated above.

101 East of the Cordillera distributed from north to south in what is today Argentine territory, and partly in the Cordillera itself, were
197 three close neighbors of the *Araucanians*. These were distinct peoples,
144 who were related to one another and belonged to the same linguistic group, the *Huarpe-Comechingón*. They differed from the people of Chile in appearance, language, and culture. We are especially interested in the settlement of these non-*Araucanian* peoples, who, because they dwelt in the Andean region of pine groves, were commonly called *Puelche* (in *Araucanian*, pehuen, "pine," + che, "people"). This group of mountaineers was the first to be *Araucanized*, that is, it was the first of those to the east of the *Araucanians* which received their influence and infiltrations.

101 Numerous facts, in addition to language, already mentioned, clearly
144 prove that the inhabitants of the pine forests, though later *Araucanian*, did not originally belong to this group. Thus, the Chilean chronicler Mariño de Lovera related that a Spanish reconnaissance expedition made in 1553 under the leadership of Pedro de Leiva discovered a type of people in the Cordillera who differed from that of Chile in being taller and thinner and in subsisting on nuts of the Araucaria pine (*Araucaria imbricata*). Later, the Chilean anthropologist, R. E. Latcham, found vestiges of this ancient, tall, and dolicocephalic population both among the short brachycephals who inhabited the region toward the end of the last century and in ancient burial grounds in the same area.

101 This earliest tall, thin, dolicocephalic people, who neither spoke
197 *Araucanian* nor cultivated the soil, and whose ancient habitat coin-
144 cides approximately with that of the Araucaria pine, i. e., the Cordil-

7:Padden H-4 (no date) 1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

CULTURAL CHANGE AND MILITARY RESISTANCE IN ARAUCANIAN CHILE, 1550-1730

ROBERT CHARLES PADDEN

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THE TERM "ARAUCANIAN CULTURE" suggests a definition and unity which is more applicable to present-day aborigines of Chile than to the culture which the Spaniards encountered in the sixteenth century. While the great majority of Chilean Indians were closely related in race, language, and culture, there were minor variations among them.[1] These differences, however, were infrequently heeded by the Spanish invaders. Thinking in geographical rather than ethnological terms, and measuring culture with reference to military proficiency, the Spanish chroniclers postulated three spatial bands of culture, the first extending from the Aconcagua to the Nuble River; the second from the Nuble to the Imperial River; the third from there to the Gulf of Reloncaví.[2] Within these regions the Indians were of a single Mapuche culture, as they so identified themselves. Peoples living to the north of any given Mapuche group, although still within it, were identified as Picunche, those to the south as Huilliche.[3] The Spaniards applied these denominations to their conception of cultural distribution, thus making them appear to be racio-cultural entities, which, of course, they were not.[4]

The one outstanding difference among these three groups, as the Spaniards saw them, was the ability of the central band to resist effective Spanish settlement, not only through the sixteenth century, but, as it developed, into the late decades of the nineteenth century. The Araucanian culture in which the present paper is

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1 For discussion of Chilean pre-history see Francisco Antonio Encina, *Historia de Chile desde la prehistoria hasta 1891* (19 vols., Santiago, 1940-51), vol. I, chaps. ii, iii; Ricardo E. Latcham, *La prehistoria chilena* (Santiago, 1928), pp. 147-154, *passim*.

2 Miguel de Olaverría, "Informe de don Miguel de Olaverría sobre el reyno de Chile, sus indios y sus guerras" (in Claudio Gay, *Historia física y política de Chile*, Paris, Santiago, 1844-71). This work comprises twenty eight volumes, two of which are document collections, numbered I and II, hence, Gay, II, pp. 19-20. Olaverría was an old soldier in Chile when he wrote his chronicle in 1594. His work is both dependable and readable. Also see "Viaje de García Hurtado de Mendoza al sur de Valdivia y fundación de Osorno" (Gay, I, pp. 224-225).

3 Encina, vol. I, pp. 72-74; cf. Latcham, *La prehistoria*, pp. 152-154.

4 The term Picunche did not come into vogue until the seventeenth century. Writers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries accepted and compounded these delineations. In addition to these three areas the Spaniards further differentiated between the Picunche, who extended somewhat south of the Maule River, and the *Promaucaes*, who lived between the Nuble River and the Biobío, including the site of Concepción. The Promaucaes were extremely warlike, but since they lived north of the Biobío they were not Araucanians in the proper sense, nor did they make up any part of the *estado* (see note 29).

7:Padden N-4 (no date)1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

[101] [131] [175] concerned is limited to the wider Spanish designation, that is, those Indians between the Noble and Imperial Rivers, and, more precisely, the area which today comprises the province of Arauco. This tiny province, some sixty miles long and twenty wide, was the focal point of Araucanian resistance.

[125] The Spanish conquest of Araucanian Chile began in 1550 when Pedro de Valdivia and his followers built a fort and founded the town of Concepción on the northern bank of the Biobío River. From this point they moved south, inflicting military defeats on the Araucanians and dividing them in encomienda. Within three years the Spaniards had ranged below the Calle-Calle River, founding towns and reducing most of the Indians to servitude. The Indians were restive under this imposition of Spanish dominion, but offered no openly unified resistance. On the heels of this initial pacification Valdivia brought in experienced prospectors and miners from Santiago to search out the gold deposits that were believed to exist. The gold-seekers enjoyed incredible success: several strikes were made which yielded nuggets the size of almonds. "*Donde agora*," quoth Valdivia, "*comienza a ser señor.*"[4]

[169] But the Araucanians were not of like mind. Rapid development of the mines and discoveries of new ones portended undisguised slavery. Under such oppression the Indians of Tucapel contrived a cunning trap for Valdivia into which he fell, and he was then killed and eaten.[6] This signal event inspired a general uprising which lasted for four years, ending with the death of the Indian leader Lautaro in the battle of Peteroa in 1557.[7] Although the general rebellion was ended at this time, the War of Arauco was begun. The Indians of Arauco, Tucapel, Cañete, and Purén (the present province of Arauco and its peripheries) stubbornly resisted effective Spanish settlement. This phase of the struggle lasted [644] until 1598, when the Indians captured and ate Governor Martín García de Loyola.[8] There followed a spontaneous rebellion of subjugated Indians from the Maule River to Osorno in the south: every Spanish town worthy of the designation was wiped out below the Biobío, with the exception of Castro on the Isle

[647] 3 Alonso de Góngora Marmolejo, "Historia de Chile desde su descubrimiento hasta el año de 1575" (in *Colección de historiadores de Chile y documentos relativos a la historia nacional*, 49 vols., Santiago, 1861-1942), vol. 2, pp. 33-34 (this collection will hereafter be cited as CHC). Marmolejo came to Chile with Valdivia in 1549, hence he wrote with considerable experience and authority. His work is fundamental to the study of Araucanian culture.

4 *Idem*, pp. 37-39. Marmolejo's account of Valdivia's death is based on an eyewitness account, hence it is more acceptable than are the many others that are based on rumors and hearsay.

7 For a survey of the four general uprisings see Encina, vol. 1, chaps. viii and ix.

8 *Idem*, vol. 2, chap. xviii; also see Gregorio Serrano, "Relación de la sublevación en Chile desde veinte de diciembre de noventa y ocho hasta primero de mayo de noventa y nueve" (CHC, vol. 45, pp. 227-233).

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Araucanian Patri-Organization and the Omaha System

LOUIS C. FARON
University of Illinois

THE thesis of this paper is that Araucanian society has been patrilineally organized since the time of the Conquest, but that the appearance of the Omaha system is a very recent development and not fully representative of Araucanian society. It is concerned, therefore, with the development of Araucanian social organization under four sections: (1) brief review of two basic assumptions about the development of Araucanian kinship and social organization; (2) examination of historic kinship terminology and other data on social organization, in connection with these assumptions; (3) presentation of data obtained in the field in 1953, and other recent material on Araucanian kinship and social organization; and (4) an interpretation of the development of Araucanian social organization on the basis of historical material and the present pattern of distribution.

For about three centuries the Araucanian Indians of Chile withstood the large-scale colonization of their native habitat, Araucanía. These so-called "fighting Araucanians" came to be known by the generic term "Mapuche" which means, in their language, "people of the land."

During the period of Spanish colonization the Mapuche lived between the Bío-Bío River and an ill-defined boundary north of the town of Valdivia, in a rather thickly forested area which lies between the Andes and the Pacific. North of the Bío-Bío River lived the Picunche Indians, who were closely related to the Mapuche and were part of the over-all Araucanian group. From the environs of Valdivia south to the Island of Chiloé, the more open country was inhabited by the Huilliche Araucanians or "people of the south." These cultural subgroups shared a common language, Araucanian, the regional dialects of which were mutually intelligible.

Today only the Mapuche remain as a large, easily definable ethnic group in southern Middle Chile. The Picunche were rapidly acculturated during the early colonial period. The Huilliche, for the most part, have been absorbed into the mestizo population between the southern limits of Araucanía and the Island of Chiloé.

Perhaps the most ambitious thesis dealing with the evolution of Araucanian society was presented by Ricardo E. Latcham (1936), who drew heavily on colonial documents for supplementation to field work he conducted among the Mapuche in Cautín Province, the heart of Araucanía. The premises upon which Latcham based his fundamental arguments in favor of matrilineal organization do not bear close scrutiny. Nevertheless, he stands out with Guevara Silva as one of the most assiduous students of Araucanian culture who wrote in the early decades of the twentieth century.

American anthropologists have recently shown interest in exploring histor-

6: Farm E-3 (1953) 1956 SG4 Arawakan SG4

119

cial material for the reconstruction of Araucanian social organization. However, it is generally agreed that the data do not afford a very clear picture of earlier Araucanian social forms or their development, the primary subject of this paper.

Some other Marxian-related remarks on the apparent absence of the Circum-kinship system in South America, Steward had the opportunity to interview a Mapuche informant, Martin Colin, and tentatively concluded that the

Map of Southern Middle Chile.

19: Bilgoe E-9 (1946-1954) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

[illegible] they were believed that—they were his wounds and believed that he had talked to his people, and they let him go home. José Martín did not return for several days. When he did he came home on a Chilean boat and disembarked at Chan Chan. He brought with him many gifts from the Chileans for the new silk cacique, Anabón, among them rice and sugar—Anabón Lonkó was the first Mapuche here to eat rice and sugar. After Anabón had completely recovered, he again went to Valdivia and spoke to the Colonel. As a reward for establishing peace among his people, the Colonel gave him a cane topped with a crook of silver. The cane is still at Pedro Martín's, but it does not look like the same cane; it was damaged in a fire and repaired by a silversmith. Later the Colonel came here to sign the peace with the cacique, Anabón. He disembarked at Chan Chan with 1,500 soldiers. When we saw him land these soldiers so in our land, our people fled and hid; they thought that now their homes would be burned and they themselves exterminated. The reason ended. But this ended the wars. That is how the Mapuche in this area saved themselves from annihilation.

The territory occupied by the Araucanians (in what is now Chile) when the Spanish first entered it probably extended from the Andean uplands to the Pacific and from the southern tip of the Island of Chiloé to the river Choapa, or still farther north. Cooper's sources place them between latitude 32° and 45° S. (1946, p. 687). At present the Araucanians are found mainly in the provinces of Cautín and Valdivia, with the largest number between latitude 39° and 40° S.

In the western part of these two provinces, on the Pacific, is the Coastal Range. Its altitude averages 1,000 feet, with a maximum of 1,800 feet. To the eastern part is the Andean Cordillera. Between these two mountain systems lies the great Central Valley. The rivers Imperial, Toltén, Mallelín, Cruces, and Calle-Calle and their tributaries drain this area from east to west across the valley. The main pass over the Andes in the Araucanian country, the old Trumao Pass, is by way of Villarrica and Pucón in Chile to Junín de los Andes in Argentina. In the low altitudes of the Andes in the Araucanian country are the beautiful lakes of Colico, Villarrica, Caburgua, Calafquén, Pelehúe, Pangipulli, Riñihue, and Panlahuén. From nearly all parts of the provinces snow-capped ridges of the Andean ranges can be seen, as well as the volcanoes Llaima (10,040 feet), Villarrica (9,317 feet), Quetrupillán (7,340 feet), Shoshuenco (7,340 feet), and Lanín (12,870 feet). Lanín is just beyond the boundary in Argentina.

The climate of the region is affected by strong east winds, known as pueldches, and by the Humboldt Current of the Pacific moving northward along the shore. Except in high altitudes there is no snowfall; the winter season is a rainy one.

Based on estimates, the Araucanians may have numbered from 500,000 to three times that when the Spaniards first met them. How many there are at present is not accurately known; ; Chilean au-

10: Hilger E-3 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

FIG. 1.—Map of the region in Chile in which the present study was made—the southern part of the Province of Cautín and the northern part of the Province of Valdivia. (Based largely on map facing p. 128 of Guía del Veraneante, 1943, Santiago.)

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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131

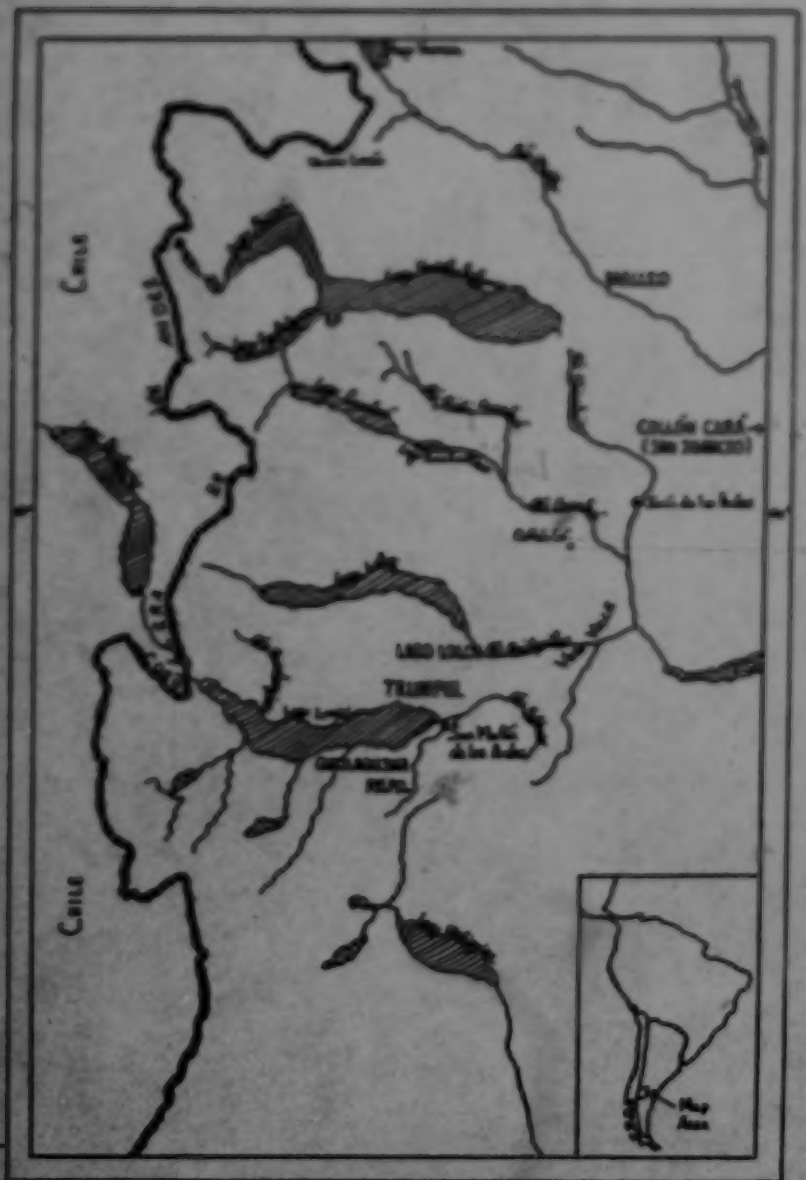

FIG. 7.—Map of the Territory of Neuquén, the region of Argentina in which the present study was made. (Based largely on a map found in Nahuel Huapi-Lanín-Los Alerces, published by the Automovil Club Argentino y la Administración General de Parques Nacionales y Tourismo, 1950, Buenos Aires.)

lh:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

1

Introduction

Persistent military and political pressures emanating from Chilean society culminated in the defeat of the Mapuche and their settlement on reservations in what was left to them of their ancestral territory. Among the immediate effects of peace were changes in Mapuche economic activities. These changes also had side effects which ramified throughout Mapuche society. In this chapter I consider some of the most significant effects of conquest as these have modified the total physical environment to which the Mapuche must adapt in order to survive.

THE GEOGRAPHIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC SETTING

There are an estimated 200,000 Araucanian Indians living on more than 2,000 small reservations scattered over a large area in central Chile known as the Frontera or Araucanía (see Map I). Well over half of these Indians are settled in Cautín and Malleco provinces, the heart of the indigenous zone.[1] They call themselves Mapuche, which

[1] Information kindly supplied by the *Archivero General de Asuntos Indígenas*, Temuco, Señor Osvaldo Croxatto Solari, from an official report dated October 11, 1953, states that as of that date there were 2,201 Mapuche communities with full reservation status registered in the *Juzgados* of Temuco, Pitrufquén, and Victoria, and that they had a total area of 428,808.28 hectares. Approximately 1,500 of these reservations are in Cautín Province and occupy more than 250,000 hectares.

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11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
Chile SG1

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101 in their language means "people of the land." They are and have long been agriculturalists. They are the only numerous indigenous society in Chile and, although their numbers are dwarfed by the millions of Quechua and Aymara Indians of the central Andes, they constitute one of the largest functioning Indian societies in South America.

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C
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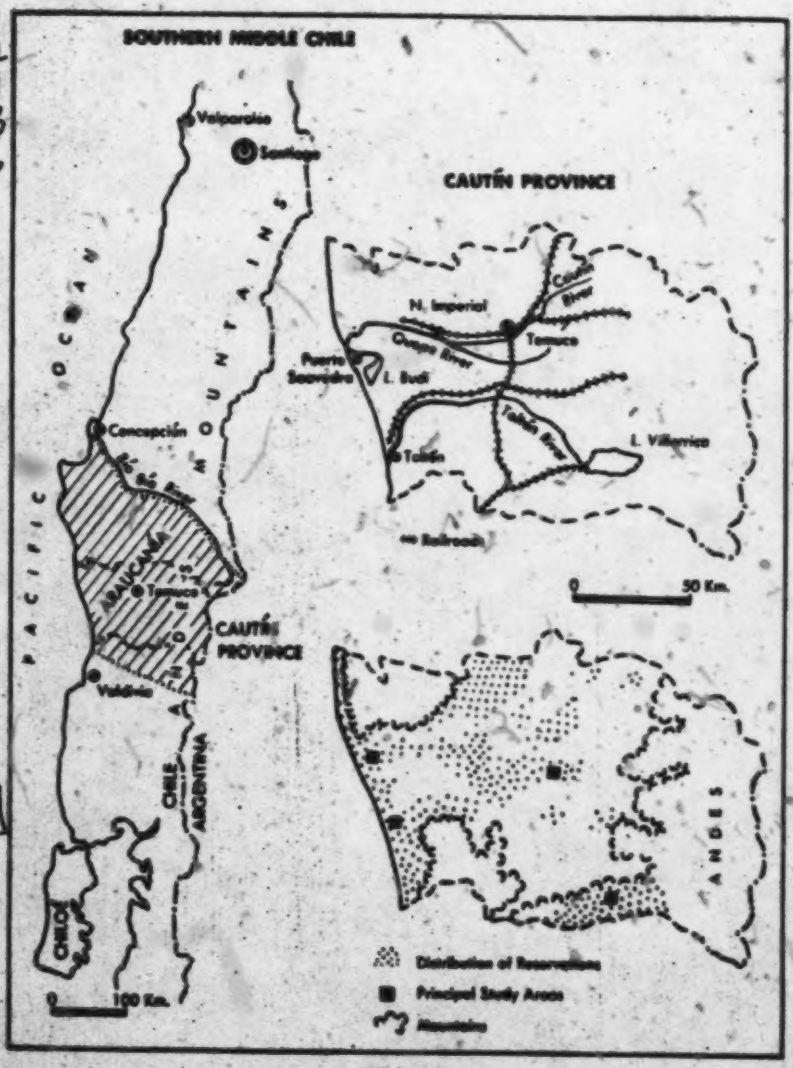

MAP I

[114]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

The Mapuche-occupied area of the Frontera is roughly that of the state of Delaware and covers several political provinces and three major geographical zones. The latter are generally referred to as the coastal range and narrow coastal plain, the Central Valley, and the Andean foothills and interior valleys. There was once a dense evergreen forest covering the greater part of central Chile, but today the larger stands of timber are found mostly in the Andes and the coastal mountains, the Central Valley having been cleared of trees in the process of agricultural expansion and town building. This is the ancestral heartland of Mapuche territory. It is still undergoing colonization by white settlers.

The Andes are the most impressive topographical feature in the area, rising well above 15,000 feet, with numerous towering volcanoes. Snow-covered the year round, these volcanoes occasionally erupt and cause great damage to settlements in the surrounding country, as a consequence of which there is always heightened ceremonial activity among the Mapuche. The several low passes south of Villarrica and one near Lonquimay are used by migrant workers and tourists going to Argentina and back, but they are almost impassable in winter. In the high Andes agriculture is not possible, but it is practiced in the foothills. The more precipitous terrain is used for pasturing sheep, cattle, and horses.

The coastal range, which has an average altitude of only 1,000 feet, although reaching 7,000 feet in places, is relatively unproductive in terms of Mapuche economy. Its stands of timber are exploited mainly by Chileans. Mapuche graze some cattle along the mountain slopes, but most of the area is not inhabited by Indians. There are a few colonies of small freeholders, *colonos* and *parceleros*, and some extensive haciendas or *fundos* found in the mountainous belt along the coast.

In many places the coastal range approaches the shore line, but there is a narrow coastal strip occupied by small numbers of Mapuche. Most of the coastal area is too wet for successful wheat production and is given over to potatoes, barley, linseed, and other crops which grow in very moist soil. Wheat and oats are grown in limited amounts in favorable places. Fairly ample natural pasturage supports a large number of cattle.

The Central Valley, lying between the Andes and the coastal range, provides some of the best wheatland in Chile. The soil in most of the valley is rich, composed of glacial deposits and volcanic ash. There

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
Chile SG1

are large level sections, but the uniformity is broken by numerous hills and spurs emanating from the Andes and the coastal mountains, especially along the southern border of Cautín Province where the two ranges abut in a narrow pass through which the central railroad runs.

The climate of this part of Chile is characterized by cool, dry summers and abundant winter rainfall. Precipitation in Cautín Province averages more than 80 inches a year, reaching more than 100 inches in the Andes and falling below 80 in parts of the Central Valley which lie in the rain shadow of the coastal range. The average temperature is about 65 degrees Fahrenheit in the warmest month and about 50 degrees in the coldest, indicating no great range of variation throughout the year. Temperature ranges are conditioned both by altitude and proximity to the Pacific Ocean. Winter snows occur in the Andes and their foothills, while freezing temperatures are rare in the Central Valley and along the coast.

The bulk of the population, both Mapuche and Chilean, is found in the Central Valley. It is here that most of the Chilean cities and towns are situated. While the largest number of reservations are found in this sector of Araucanía, it is also in this region that the greatest displacement of Indians has occurred. Mapuche territory has shrunk as a consequence of its importance in the forceful control of the fighting Mapuche throughout the colonial era as well as a result of its importance in the agricultural expansion of the colonizing society after the defeat and pacification of the Mapuche in the early 1880's.

Temuco, whose population was more than 50,000 in 1953, is the capital of Cautín Province and the largest commercial and industrial center in the Frontera. It is the hub of highway and railroad transportation, the center of regional political activity, and has many schools, several hospitals, banks, industries (flour, wool, and lumber-processing plants), government railroad shops, and many retail stores. The main railroad line runs through Temuco from north to south and has several trunks branching east and west through a number of small towns which serve as centers for shipping local produce. These towns range in size from a little more than 5,000 persons (e.g. Villarrica, Nueva Imperial) to 1,000 or less. Some of them are centers for local fairs at which animals are selected for shipment to Temuco and the cities of northern Chile. Near the Andes and the coastal mountains they also serve as repositories for timber, which is brought

11:Farson E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
Chile SG1

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The Agrarian Setting

Mapuche society owes many of its economic characteristics to long-established relationship with a provincial segment of Chilean society. A major ecological adjustment was made after the reservation system was instituted, a modification which involved a change from desultory garden horticulture, performed by women, to field farming and the adoption of many non-Mapuche agricultural techniques. Today, farming is primarily man's work. Some of the more important changes involving the allotment and use of land by both white settlers and reservation Indians are discussed in this chapter. It should be kept in mind that the reservation system limits the amount of land available to Mapuche and Chilean alike, although the system is more restrictive with regard to the Mapuche.[1]

FUNDOS AND PARCELAS

With the conclusion of the Mapuche rebellion of 1880-81 there was an upsurge in colonization that led to the establishment of towns, roads, and railroads throughout Araucanía. In 1891 the central rail-

[1] Reference to Map I will give an impression of the distribution of reservations in Cautín Province, although all areas have not been fully mapped. There are no adequate data for the distribution of Mapuche reservations south of the line which might be drawn between the town of Toltén and Lake Villarrica, but there are numerous reservations in this area.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
Chile SG1

road reached Temuco, a decade or so after parts of Cautín Province had been divided up into small *parcelas* and larger *fundos*. Government agencies such as the *Caja de Colonización* and the *Ministerio de Tierras y Colonización*, along with a number of private companies and banks, have continued to encourage white settlement in Cautín Province. In the process, much Mapuche land has been lost, both through intricate legal negotiations and outright usurpation. The result has been that the farmlands of Cautín Province are today carved up into *fundos* (large holdings), *parcelas* or *hijuelas* (small holdings), and Mapuche reservations, which vary greatly in size so that some are smaller than *parcelas*, others larger than *fundos*. Many of the small land grants have since been incorporated into large farms through *latifundismo*.

Fundo production varies according to the type of land involved and the region in which it is situated. Hilly land is more often grazed than farmed, although cultivation is practiced in sections of *fundos* where the topography is rough enough to preclude mechanization, thus *funderos* bring marginal land under cultivation in much the same way *parceleros* and reservation Indians farm. Wooded sections are cleared of trees with a view to using the land for pasture, and with little regard for the conservation of timberland.

The major fields of a *fundo* are much larger than those of a *parcelero* or Mapuche farmer, sometimes equaling or surpassing the total cultivated acreage of the smaller reservations. These are planted mainly in wheat and oats, with the smaller fields in rougher terrain being sown to clover and other pasturage and soil-restorative crops such as lupine.

The *fundos* in the Mapuche area differ somewhat from those to the north and south. The rotation of crops and fields is similar to that practiced by the smaller Chilean farmers and reservation Mapuche. But the *fundo* in this region is usually highly mechanized compared to the *parcela* or reservation, and generally has a tractor, harvester or combine, threshing equipment, discs, drills, and so forth. Larger *fundos* may have in addition a flour mill and, in the Andean or coastal regions, lumbering equipment. The *fundo* owner or operator nearly always has a truck to take some of his produce to market.

The owner may spend most of his time in Temuco or another city, leaving the operation of the *fundo* to an administrator who lives on the land with his family. The labor force of a *fundo* may be composed of both Chileans and Mapuche, many of the latter being only tem-

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

The Ministry of Lands and Colonization has jurisdiction over Indian affairs. Special courts and judges hear land claims and other cases involving reservations, but violations of civil law are heard in regular Chilean courts open to whites and Indians alike. Specifically, the Indian judges (*Juezes de Indios*) handle *división*. In appearing before the Indian courts (*Juzgados de Indios*) the Mapuche is entitled to legal representation (*abogado procurador*). In all, the government administers an indigenous zone almost the size of the state of Delaware.

Nevertheless, this represents a territory vastly reduced over the course of the last hundred years. Immediately after the rebellion of 1880-82 Mapuche society seems to have been in a state of turmoil. It is estimated that many thousands of Indians migrated across the Andes at this time to escape military reprisal or because they had been routed out of their former settlements at points of white penetration.

Within Araucanía there was also tremendous population movement as groups shifted en masse to the Andean foothills or southward to and across the Toltén River. The greatest pressures were brought to bear on the Mapuche from the north and west. Forested, virgin territory was opened up during this period as much by the Mapuche themselves as by the while colonists. Aside from the general historical accounts there are other data which add to the impression of great population mobility between 1880 and the first two decades of the twentieth century. In the *título* records, for example, it is not uncommon to read that witnesses for the applicant chief knew him and his *familia* for only as little as fifteen or twenty years in some instances, indicating a short occupancy in the area. Mobility is given tacit recognition in the reservation legislation, as well, for it is stated (e.g. *Ley* No. 4,111, June 1931, Art. 27) that an Indian will be considered a legal resident only on the reservation in which he earns his livelihood, regardless of the fact that he might be mentioned in various *títulos*.

In large parts of Araucanía the registration and mapping of reservations was proceeding slowly, and, as towns sprang up and farm colonies developed, the Mapuche continued to withdraw. With the establishment of railroads and roadways throughout the frontier, the Indians were put off their land with little or no compensation. Some reservations were not mapped and registered under a chief until as recently as the second decade of the twentieth century — almost thirty years after the end of hostilities. During this interim, the social

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

INTRODUCTION

THE Mapuche occupy an area in southern central Chile between the Pacific Ocean and the Andes Mountains, an area roughly the size of the state of Delaware, and have an estimated population of just under 250,000. The region in which they live is called *Araucanía* or *La Frontera* and, in terms of settlement, is composed of about 2,200 small Mapuche reservations, numerous Chilean farms, and a few towns and cities. While the reservations form large blocks in this area, they are broken into sectors by Chilean holdings, as indicated on the line map, the area of the most dense Mapuche occupation.

The Mapuche constitute one of the largest functioning indigenous societies in South America and are quite distinctive culturally and socially from Chileans. Their history has revolved around warfare, land usurpation, and, more recently, the dissolution of many reservation communities under pressure exerted by Chilean colonists. For centuries the Mapuche have lost territory to Chilean settlers. They were defeated in the Rebellion of 1880-82, and their politico-military organization was undermined. They no longer roam over a vast territory, raiding whites and other Mapuche. They have been immobilized on small reservations, and are dependent on field agriculture. In spite of these socially disruptive forces, the Mapuche have maintained a great measure of cultural and social integrity. These forces have not caused traditional Mapuche life to disappear; rather their effect has been to weld Mapuche society into a more complex structure than existed in prereservation times.

Having withstood more than four hundred years of persistent efforts at colonization and missionization, the Mapuche, understandably, have experienced cultural and social change. They have undergone continual readaptation and reintegration during their four centuries of contact with whites. They now form a vigorous and, because of a growing political awareness, a

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

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Cautín Province 131
361

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche
Araucanians SG4

near the groves of araucarias. But the power of the chief is absolute, and his word is law to his most distant subjects. At an order from him they leave their toldos, wives, and children, and repair mounted, and ready for any service, to his head-quarters. His wealth is considerable: besides the numerous flocks and herds, one of the toldos was used simply as a treasury, where his stores of silver ornaments, ponchos, mantles, &c., were safely stowed away.

I was present in his toldo at the arrival of a messenger. The Indian, who had evidently come from a long distance, did not venture to enter until commanded to do so, when, with the utmost respect, he took his seat at a distance from the chief, communicated his message, received his orders, and retired; when again ready for the road he appeared to receive final instructions, after which he mounted his horse and rode off without more ado.

The subordinate caciques, whose office and rank are hereditary, appeared to be finer and more intelligent men than the rank and file. Whether this was owing to a difference of race, or merely to their aristocratic descent and hereditary refinement of features and bearing, I cannot say; but their superiority was very marked; whereas among the Tehuelches no such difference between the caciques and their clansmen is observable. The superiority of these semi-civilised Araucanos to their southern neighbours was evident in every way, save only bodily strength. Their residence in a more fertile country, near the apple and araucaria groves, gives them great advantages over the nomad Patagonians. They cultivate wheat, small quantities of which were brought to us for sale; besides storing the natural harvest of piñones and apples, from which, as before stated, they brew cider of unusual strength, and also distil 'pulco,' an intoxicating liquor, from the algarroba bean. My intercourse with both Foyel's people and those at Manzanas was not sufficiently long to enable me to become conversant with their language and customs, which have been described